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The reluctance to discuss intimate matters becomes intensified between individuals of opposite sex: 834 183

It is part of Chiricahua nature to be shy about such personal matters. It is almost impossible to talk to a Chiricahua girl about such things. Before I married my wife I never mentioned things of this nature [sexual] to her. Even after her father gave consent to the marriage we said nothing about it until we were living together. That is the old Chiricahua attitude. . . . . She belonged to the old school. I never kissed her or hugged her. We didn't even hold hands. [832]

To give point to their ideal of restraint between the sexes, informants have repeatedly compared their own customs with those of other peoples whom they have lately come to know: 834 186 829 648 183

The young men I went around with attended the Comanche dances. The Comanche were the only ones that had any tribal life and dances still going. We really went to meet the Comanche girls, because they were the ones we had intercourse with.

You couldn't do much with the Chiricahua girls. If you began talking to them about such things, they just got mad and walked away. With the Comanche girls it was different, and we had no trouble at all. The Comanche men did not seem to resent the fact that we went around with the Comanche girls. It seems like a difference in attitude. I don't think it is because the Comanche were more degenerate or had had more contact with whites, because, as a matter of fact, I think the Apache had had more contact and more trouble with the whites and were more disorganized. It seems to me that it was a difference in attitude in treating the whole question. . . . .

Modesty and delicacy are ideals which some individuals fail to attain: 834 183 156

He is just a man with a dirty mouth. He's been this way ever since I have known him. Because he is always talking about these things some of the Indians call him "He Who Knows about It"; or they call him "Vulva," because he's always talking about that. You can't be with him for five minutes before he will start talking like this. I'll bet if we went right up now and asked him to tell something about the old times, he'd find some excuse for talking like this.

He goes right in to a place where he knows there are people who are ashamed before each other, and just the same he will say something so bad that all these people will have to leave. When the others who are there scold him about it, he says, "Well, I told nothing but the truth, didn't I?"

One time we were having a big council. He was sitting with the men, and his wife was over there sitting on the side of the hill with some other women. After a while she took her moccasins off. He noticed this. "Hey!" he called to her, "what are you doing?" "Oh, I've just taken my moccasins off," she said. "Well,

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834 183 156 you'd better put them on again," he told her, "or some of these men here will see your bare feet and get excited and go for you." His wife only laughed. She's used to that kind of talk. She's much younger than he is. She sticks to him because he's good support, I guess.

834 183 156 593 A second offender, a woman, was also adversely discussed:

That woman is a regular bulldog. She has a dirty mouth. She is awful, that woman! Everybody knows her. She will knock her husband about twenty feet, kick him, and call him dirty names. He doesn't do anything or say anything. He is very mild and doesn't stick up for himself. If you curse him, he will just laugh. Some do not like this about him.

One time my wife and I were visiting. There were about fifteen people present. This couple was there. My wife noticed earlier in the day that the woman was angry. When she saw her come in, she told me to go, because she knew that the woman would use all sorts of bad language. So I got out pretty quick. Later I asked my wife what the woman had done. She had backed her husband against the wall and given him an awful talking to right before all the people. She mentioned how big his privates were and everything.

834 183 Yet, despite these cases, the avowed canons of good taste generally prevail.

834 183 562 Concepts of courtship and sexual behavior are influenced by a manly ideal which slightly subordinates women and penalizes men for any open attention to them:

The Chiricahua men and women regard each other differently from the way the white people do. A man has a more honorary position than a woman. It looks to me as if the women try to serve the men and expect to do so. They show the men a little extra respect. That is why they let the men walk down the road ahead of them.

[574] [764] At a feast, such as a marriage feast, there is a special place for the men. The food is taken out and served to the men first. But there is no special place for the women. The women crowd around and eat what they can get and sit anywhere they can. But the women expect this. They do not think they are abused because of it. They would resent any other kind of treatment. If visitors come, they are served first, but the men visitors are served first of all. It looks as if men do not like to be thought of as coming under the influence of women.

[574] [829] We Chiricahua say, "Look at those white men! They go with their wives all the time. It looks as if they never get tired of them." We brag of the way we do, for we don't like to take our wives along. We have a better time when we are alone. Some of the fellows get together and talk and have fun for hours. We don't have such a good time if the women are around. The men might go to a social dance with their wives, but as soon as they get to the place they leave their wives and go with the men.

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on the part of persons between whom restraint has been practiced for some time—an abrupt change of demeanor which most individuals do not care to invite.[5]

THE MARRIED MAN AND HIS BLOOD KIN

The formal obligations of a man to his wife's relatives are explicit and numerous, but he is seldom as isolated from his own relatives and friends as a bare recital of affinal relationships would suggest:

There is the word that means one household or home. If the group of related households is very small, if there is only one, or if there are only two or three dwellings in it, you might call this a household still, for we do not like to use the word "extended family" unless there are as many as five or six houses.

"Extended family" means a group of homes occupied by relatives. At the very least an extended family is a father and mother, their unmarried children, and the families of their married daughters.

Several extended families make up the local group. In most cases it includes families which are connected by marriage, and between whose members friendly relations signified by the term "friends we have become" are in force.

It appears, then, that it is not unusual for families whose members have intermarried to belong to the same local group, and often a married man may expect to have consanguineous relatives as well as affinities in the vicinity. One factor which explains why families united by marriage live in such close proximity is the absence, in general, of any obligation to marry out of the local group.

At our encampment we are really an extended family. My father-in-law is here with his father-in-law. I am here with my father-in-law. If my wife's sister marries, there will be another household. Since the people in such an extended family are all related, all the girls and boys of marriageable age are *'ilah* to each other and can't marry. But a man doesn't have to go far for a wife, for there are many extended families near by from which he can choose a wife. Being in the same local group doesn't prevent a man from marrying someone. There has to be real relationship to prevent marriage.

This does not mean that a mate is always chosen from the same local group. Previous marriages within the local group may make this impossible: "Marriages like this went on between

[5] Yet polite form can be terminated to accommodate the sororate-levirate (see p. 424).

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831 I was talking about this with my friend, H. At that time I was young. When I saw a woman I'd have an erection. "What makes that?" I asked him. He said, "I get that way too." But there was another fellow. We used to chum together. You couldn't make him get an erection. You could have five naked women in front of him and it wouldn't matter! It's all in the nature of the individual. I have noticed that lots of fellows don't care for women, and lots are worse off than [828] I was. It's in the brain, in the nerves. It's like some who get to be cigarette fiends when they smoke. It's just their nature to feed their bodies.

These two fellows and I were together. H. and I used to go down to Lawton and go with girls. The other boy wouldn't do anything, though the girls were after him. He never even danced. Yet he's married now. He has only one child, a boy of about twenty.

831 833 In spite of the acknowledged individual differences, there is an accepted ideal of moderation in sexual life:

[152] The Chiricahua is not willing to show a lot of feeling for the other sex. That is why our women are probably colder than women of other races. They would consider it shameful to lose control of themselves during intercourse.[1]

833 Sexual intercourse two or three times a week is considered normal for married people. In the old days even less than that, because men were away so much. Yet some men are so bad about this that they get their wife with a second child before the first one walks, and the oldest child does not get proper nourishment.

833 829 The young Indians tell me about intercourse with women of other peoples, with Negroes, Mexicans, and whites, and they are surprised at the activity of these women during intercourse. One fellow said, "Well, I went into a place to have intercourse with a woman, but she had intercourse with me!" We say that those who are too fond of this get old quickly, that a person ages rapidly if he is just like a hog about it.

833 In an autobiographical statement, the same pattern of moderation is pictured:

> For the first three or four months I had intercourse every night with my wife; after that about twice a week; later on, after the first year, once a week or less. Now after eleven years of married life, when I'm home, about once a week. Once a week won't hurt a man, I guess.

831 833 593 183 But prudery and continence in the married person are just as heartily condemned and ridiculed as unbridled sensuality, as a humorous story indicates:

[1] Yet one informant expressed a contrary feeling concerning female sexuality, saying, "I've always heard that women are twice as eager as men, never getting enough of sexual intercourse."

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When a shaman finishes a curing ceremony over you, he gives you directions about things that you must not do or eat. . . . Restrictions that I have seen put on people are these: the person must not let anyone stand to the east of him; he must not let anyone cast a shadow on him; he must not eat meat from a cow's head; he must not eat liver; he must not eat bacon; if someone gives him a piece of fruit and it drops, he must not pick it up again and eat it.

If you are sick the shaman might tell you, "Don't let anyone stand to the east of you, in the way of the sun." Then you don't like it and tell anyone doing it to sit down. Some have a restriction that no one can stand over them; others that no one can stretch out his feet before them.

(*See also An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 265–266.)

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From what has already been described it is evident that, in the view of the Chiricahua Apache, the usefulness and success of the shaman are directly related to the rapport he establishes with the power which has chosen to "work through him." If his power is somehow alienated or angered, the ceremonialist will pray and sing his sacred songs in vain. Therefore a Chiricahua is extremely circumspect when referring to his power. An informant expressed some wonder that "the white man in his swearing uses things and people that he says he believes in and calls holy. When a Chiricahua swears, he mentions only things he fears and hates." In making decisions which involve his ceremony a shaman's power must be consulted. This is vividly revealed in the musings of the shaman who had misgivings over discussing details of ceremonial lore.

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It is a big thing to me. I'm afraid of it. Something is holding me back. I might put myself in trouble with the power . . . and today I feel that the power is holding on. I feel in my heart and mind that something is holding me back. I'm afraid. Tonight I am going to sing to my power. I am going to ask about the things that I have given (told) you. "Is it right to do that?" I am going to ask my power. I don't know what you are going to do with this (information) but Power will tell